1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

831 171 Siberia. It is difficult to find a girl that has reached or even approached the age of sexual maturity that is innocent; and the attitude of married women to conjugal fidelity is fully characterized by the proverb, "Woman is not a loaf, can't be eaten by one (man)" (Баба не калачъ, одинъ не съѣстъ). On the Kolyma, where often several families live together in one house, it is difficult to say who is whose wife. Likewise, cases of incestuous cohabitation of the nearest blood-relations are nowhere more frequent than here.

In bringing about the degeneration and final extinction of many Russianized Siberian tribes, sexual dissoluteness, combined with the spread of syphilis, have played by no means the least important rôle.

831 177 I have here expatiated upon the unchastity of the Russian settlers and Russianized natives of the extreme northeast of Siberia, in order to show that the special position which the Koryak occupy among the neighboring tribes regarding the interrelation of the sexes cannot be due to the influence of the morals of the few representatives of a civilized people who have settled among them. On the contrary, the Koryak have waged an active struggle against the Russian influence which threatened to destroy their family life.[1]

To what, then, is due the fact that the sexual relations of the Koryak stand, according to our notions, above those of the tribes which are related to them by descent, — tribes that live under the same economic conditions, and under the influence of the same external circumstances? The explanation lies probably in the peculiar mental attitude of the Koryak.

836 626 Position of Girls prior to Marriage. — Girls, before marriage, must have no intercourse with men. This rule is pretty strictly observed by Koryak girls. Young men will not "serve"[2] for a dissolute girl. He who would undertake to serve for such a girl would expose himself to ridicule on the part of the other youths. On the other hand, the girl's father and elder brothers "are angry," the Koryak say, if they notice that their daughter or sister is intimate with young men. All investigators familiar with the life of primitive tribes know that the anger of the elders has more influence upon the conduct of the younger members of a family than preaching in the higher classes or blows in the lower classes of civilized nations, for the wrath of the elders may do harm to those against whom it is directed.

In two myths[3] we have characteristic episodes telling how a girl's brothers forced a young man to marry her when she complained that the young man had touched her or had addressed to her a request to give him water to drink.

836 847 Should a girl become pregnant before marriage, it is considered shameful, and her parents scold her. She goes off into the wilderness to be deliv-

[1] See Chapter XIV. [2] See p. 739. [3] See Part I, pp. 278, 275.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

ered of her child. She kills and buries it in the ground or in the snow. 836 ●
If the girl points out the father of her child, her father or brothers endeavor [847]
to pommel him. In olden times cohabitation out of wedlock with a girl sometimes led to wars between the families to which the young people belonged. After reaching maturity, the girl sleeps in her combination-suit, the make[1] of which prevents unexpected violence. When strangers sleep in the house over night, girls do not undress at all, and sleep together in one bed. As we shall see later on, the bride also resists the bridegroom at the beginning of their married life, symbolizing her innocence and inaccessibility.

The girl[2] is as inaccessible to the bridegroom while he serves for her as to a stranger. Intercourse of a bride with her bridegroom before the termination of his service is deemed a sin. Oftentimes, during the period of a young man's service, the girl goes away from her parental home to live with her relatives. In one myth it is told[3] that the sister of Cloud-Man was let down to earth pending her bridegroom's service.

Different rules for a girl's conduct are found among the tribes nearest 836
to the Koryak. Maidenly chastity is valued very little among the Chukchee, 171
says Bogoras.[4] Krasheninnikoff says of the ancient Kamchadal, "Though [585]
fond of women, this tribe is not so jealous as the Koryak. In marriages the signs of virginity are not considered, and some claim that the young men find fault with their mothers-in-law when they discover their wives to be virgin, but this I cannot assert to be authentic."[5] In my work on the Yukaghir I shall speak more fully of their custom of placing guests on the beds of the girls.

Dittmar states that a Koryak girl who had intercourse with a man was [114]
severely punished, and that her own father shot her;[6] but Krasheninnikoff asserts, in a passage which I shall touch upon again farther on, that the Maritime Koryak offered their wives and daughters to their guests.[6] In another passage[7] he says that among the Reindeer Koryak the bridegroom sleeps with his bride during the period of service. I think that these data were recorded by Krasheninnikoff on the authority of the Cossacks, who might have confused the Chukchee customs with those of the Koryak, or simply invented this statement. This seems the more probable, since not even the Chukchee offer their daughters to their guests.

In the myths of the Koryak we do not find a single allusion to such an 837
order of things. On the contrary, we find episodes of an opposite character. The girls are generally kept in a secret place,[8] or they are hidden during

[1] See p. 589.
[2] See Part I, p. 131.
[3] See Bogoras, Brief Report on the Investigations among the Chukchee of the Kolyma District, p. 36.
[4] See Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 169.
[5] See Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 202.
[6] See Dittmar, Die Koräken, p. 32.
[7] Ibid., II, p. 22.
[8] See Part I, pp. 125, 176, 291, 302.

23: Krasheninnikov N-3 (1736-40) 1764 Koryak

amidſt all their misfortunes, with the pleaſure of having once in their life made a delicious meal.

Amongſt all theſe barbarous nations, excepting the *Kamtſchadales*, theft is reputable, provided they do not ſteal in their own tribe, or if done with ſuch art as to prevent diſcovery; on the other hand, it is puniſhed very ſeverely if diſcovered, not for the theft, but for want of addreſs in the art of ſtealing. A *Tchukotſkoi* girl cannot be married before ſhe has ſhewn her dexterity in this way.

Murder is not looked upon as a great crime unleſs it be in their own tribe, and then the relations of the murdered generally revenge it, but no one elſe takes any notice of it.

In their marriages the rich match with the rich, and the poor with the poor, with little regard either to beauty or any other accompliſhment. They marry for the moſt part into their own family, ſuch as with a firſt couſin, an aunt, or mother-in-law; and, in ſhort, with any relation except their own mother or daughter. The ceremonies of courtſhip are the ſame as among the *Kamtſchadales*. Although the bridegroom ſhould be very rich, yet he is obliged to ſerve three or five years for his bride; during which time they allow them to ſleep together, though the form of catching the bride ſhould not be performed, which they leave 'till the marriage be celebrated, and that is done without any great ceremony. They have ſometimes two, and ſometimes three wives, whom they keep at different places, giving them a herd of deer and a keeper. Their greateſt pleaſure is to go from place to place and examine their cattle; and it is ſurpriſing that the *Koreki*, notwithſtanding their herds are ſo numerous, and they are quite ignorant of arithmetick, can immediately diſcover the leaſt loſs, and even deſcribe all the marks of the deer that is miſſing.

They have a great fondneſs for their children, and breed them up from their infancy to labour and oeconomy. Thoſe that